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# Intragenerational deliberation and intergenerational sustainability dilemma

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# Intragenerational deliberation and intergenerational sustainability dilemma

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#### Abstract

Many environmental problems have occurred because the current generation affects future generations, but the opposite is not true. This one-way nature induces the current generation to take advantage of resources without considering future generations, which we call "intergenerational sustainability dilemma (ISD)." While deliberation is known to bring a change in individual opinions and lead to a better decision in some intragenerational problems, little is known about how "intragenerational deliberation" affects individual opinions and collective decisions for "intergenerational problems such as ISD" in societies. To this end, an ISD game (ISDG) along with interviews and questionnaires are instituted in rural and urban areas of Nepalese societies. In ISDG, a sequence of six generations, each of which consists of three people, is organized, and each generation chooses either to maintain intergenerational sustainability (sustainable option) or to maximize her own generation's payoff by irreversibly imposing a cost on future generations (unsustainable option) under intragenerational "deliberative" process. Our result demonstrates that urban subjects have a wider variety of individual initial opinions and support an unsustainable option more often than do rural subjects. It also shows that individual opinions change through deliberation when subjects in a generation do not share the same initial opinion, reflecting that more urban subjects change opinions; such opinion changes are identified not to work in the direction to enhance intergenerational sustainability for the urban generations. Overall, our experiment suggests that a closely-knit society such as rural areas in Nepal is a hope, and intragenerational deliberation neither effectively affect individual opinions for intergeneration sustainability nor resolve ISD.

Key Words: Intergenerational sustainability dilemma; deliberative process; opinion change

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# Nomenclature

IFG	Imaginary future generation
ISD	Intergenerational sustainability dilemma
ISDG	Intergenerational sustainability dilemma game
NPR	Napalese rupee
SVO	Social value orientation
VDC	Village development committee

## 1 **Introduction**

What the current generation does affects future generations, but the opposite is not true. This 2 one-way nature induces the current generation to take advantage of resources without fully con-3 sidering future generations, which we call the "intergenerational sustainability dilemma (ISD)," 4 and it is claimed to be a cause of many important problems (Kamijo et al., 2017, Shahrier et al., 5 2017, Nakagawa et al., 2019). Intergenerational problems have occurred, such as climate change, 6 resource depletion, biodiversity loss and long-term governmental debts. However, neither market 7 nor democracy is known to be future-oriented, and it has been pointed out that these institutions 8 favor the current generation maximizing her benefits (Pigou, 1952, Krutilla, 1967, Garri, 2010, 9 Thompson, 2010). Intragenerational deliberation is known to bring changes in individual opin-10 ions and to lead to a better decision in some setting of intragenerational problems (Joseph, 1994, 11 Ostrom, 1990, Ghate et al., 2013, Konrad and Thum, 2018). However, little is known about how 12 "intragenerational deliberation" can be effective to affect individual opinions and collective deci-13 sions for solving "intergenerational problems" such as ISD in societies. 14

The fundamental nature of the sustainability problems can be characterized by ISD. Economic 15 literature defines sustainability as a minimum condition to be satisfied, that is, maintaining the 16 welfare of successive generations, as compared with the current generation (Dasgupta and Mitra, 17 1983, Howarth and Norgaard, 1993, Weitzman, 1997). However, many significant social problems 18 have occurred because societies violate the minimum condition of sustainability in which the cur-19 rent generation prioritizes her benefit and leave more burdens on future generations. There is a 20 severe threat of global climate change and outstanding governments' debts in some countries that 21 takes more than 100 years to repay (Hansen and Imrohoroglu, 2016). The coastal communities are 22 predicted to suffer from a sea-level rise of 2 m by 2100, and it is reported that the rise is due to high 23 greenhouse gas emission the current generation cast, leaving huge burdens on many unseen future 24 generations (Bamber et al., 2019). Such intergenerational problems can be well represented to oc-25 cur among non-overlapping generations in a long-run perspective.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, this paper addresses 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Schotter and Sopher (2003, 2006, 2007), Chaudhuri and Paichayontvijit (2006) and Chaudhuri et al. (2009) use

<sup>27</sup> the ISD problem under non-overlapping generations by conducting framed field experiments.

Over the last decade, several studies have used an experimental approach to examine people's 28 preferences and behaviors regarding intergenerational sustainability. Fisher et al. (2004) show that 29 people become less motivated to exploit resources owing to the existence of an "intergenerational 30 link" in an intergenerational common pool experiment. Hauser et al. (2014) demonstrate that 31 democracy or majority voting tends to promote sustainability of intergenerational goods when a 32 majority of people are prosocial. Sherstyuk et al. (2016) analyze the level of difficulties in main-33 taining dynamic externality by implementing laboratory experiments of a dynamic game under 34 two types of settings: (i) infinitely living decision makers and (ii) multiple generations. They find 35 that strategic uncertainty makes it difficult to retain dynamic externalities. Kamijo et al. (2017) de-36 sign and implement a laboratory experiment of ISD game (ISDG) with a subject pool of university 37 students by introducing the treatment of "imaginary future generation (IFG)" as negotiators for 38 future generations, claiming that the negotiators improve intergenerational sustainability. Shahrier 39 et al. (2017) conduct ISDG field experiments with the subject pool of general people and analyze 40 generation decisions in urban and rural areas of Bangladesh. They find that rural people are more 41 prosocial and choose a sustainable option more often than urban people.<sup>2</sup> Fochmann et al. (2018) 42 find that subjects are prudent and fair for an intrageneration allocation, but show fewer concerns for 43 intergenerational fairness in a laboratory experiment. They also claim that the current generation 44 maximizes her payoff through shifting the burden of debts to future generations. 45

<sup>46</sup> Many political scientists and psychologists have studied deliberation to understand processes of <sup>47</sup> collective decisions making (Rawls, 1993, Chambers, 2003, Niemeyer and Dryzek, 2007).<sup>3</sup> Several

experimental games in which the current generation is incentivized to give advice to subsequent generations for their better choices and the possibility of Pareto improvement mostly exists. More specifically, the current generation's pay-off depends on subsequent generations' actions (or performances) as if the relation is between parents and children. Schotter and Sopher (2003, 2006, 2007), Chaudhuri and Paichayontvijit (2006) and Chaudhuri et al. (2009) refer this type of overlapping generational situations to as "intergenerational setting," and address the roles of social learning through advice over generations. However, in ISD, our focus is on addressing sustainability for long-run relationship across generations as if they are non-overlapping, and such long-run sustainability problems are exemplified by emergence of global climate change, various environmental problems and government debts as mentioned earlier.

<sup>2</sup>Shahrier et al. (2017) also seek to confirm whether or not the IFG proposed by Kamijo et al. (2017) enhances intergenerational sustainability, demonstrating that the IFG is not effective.

<sup>3</sup>The popular decision-making mechanisms by groups in experiments are majority voting and unanimity (See, e.g., Denant-Boomont et al., 2017). An exception is Gerardi and Yariv (2007) that implement a "deliberative majority

experimental studies, such as Simon and Sulkin (2002), have analyzed the role of deliberation in 48 relation to equity and sociodemographic backgrounds, concluding that deliberative discussion can 49 bring about fair and equitable outcomes for intragroup members. Goeree and Yariv (2011) also 50 conduct deliberation experiments under different institutions of majority and unanimity, reporting 51 that deliberation promotes fair outcomes across the institutions. Ban et al. (2012) use field data 52 from south India, suggesting that, even in heterogeneous societies, deliberation is important in that 53 it can induce long-term agreement about priorities of providing several public goods. List et al. 54 (2013) analyze deliberative data, showing that deliberation can help resolve the salient issues. 55 Overall, theories and empirical studies suggest that deliberation is effective in many collective 56 decision environments. 57

Group behaviors have been intensively studied to understand how communication influences 58 people's behaviors through social interactions (Dawes et al., 1977, Isaac and Walker, 1988, Born-59 stein and Ben-Yossef, 1994, Kugler et al., 2012, Charness and Sutter, 2012, Cooper and Kuhn, 60 2016, Meub and Proeger, 2017, Crawford and Harris, 2018, Carbone et al., 2019, Vollstadt and 61 Bohm, 2019). Intragroup communication makes groups more competitive and self-regarding in 62 a socioeconomic context such as market competition, tournament and bargaining (Kugler et al., 63 2012, Charness and Sutter, 2012). Cason and Mui (1997) use a dictator game allowing for intra-64 group face-to-face communication in a non-competitive and non-strategic environment, and claim 65 that such communication induces intergroup fairness. On the other hand, Luhan et al. (2009) con-66 duct a dictator game to re-examine group behaviors by letting subjects to make not only individual 67 but also group decisions using electronic chats as a medium of communication. They find that 68 groups are more selfish than individuals, and the most selfish group member has the strongest 69 influence on group decisions.<sup>4</sup> Overall, how intragroup (intrageneration) face-to-face communica-70 tion (deliberation) affects intergroup (intergenerational) fairness in economic decision-making is 71

voting" rule to understand coordination in a group decision. They identify that it eliminates some possible outcomes and does not necessarily lead to a better decision.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Numerous experimental studies have used simple distribution games or dictator games to confirm an existence of people's concerns toward others, such as altruism, empathy and fairness, finding that people do not selfishly behave by giving a substantial share to others in such games (Fehr, 1999, Fehr and Gachter, 2000, Fischbacher et al., 2001, Charness and Rabin, 2002, Engelmann and Strobel, 2004).

<sup>72</sup> an important area to be explored and analyzed.<sup>5</sup>

Irrespective of types of governance, institutions and societies, whether people care about oth-73 ers or future generations depends on the degrees of prosociality, trust and fairness, which are 74 affected by the cultural and economic environment (Ockenfels and Weimann, 1999, Henrich et al., 75 2005, Wilson et al., 2009, Henrich et al., 2010a, Brosig-Koch et al., 2011, Leibbrandt et al., 2013, 76 Shahrier et al., 2017). Furthermore, as societies become more capitalistic and competitive, the 77 current generation tends to become more proself, compromising sustainability (Fisher et al., 2004, 78 Shahrier et al., 2016, 2017, Timilsina et al., 2017). Although social devices such as communica-79 tion, discussion and deliberation in collective decision-making are demonstrated to resolve some 80 class of intragenerational problems on not only social but also economic issues, such as prisoner's 81 dilemma, public goods provision and common pool resource utilization (Cardenas, 2000, Cardenas 82 et al., 2000, Cason et al., 2012, Ghate et al., 2013), little is known about how "intragenerational 83 deliberation" affects individual opinions and collective decisions for "intergenerational problems" 84 such as ISD in societies. 85

We design and institute a series of new procedures for the ISDG field experiments to examine 86 whether and how deliberation changes individual opinions and hence resolves ISD in fields. In 87 ISDG, we organize a sequence of six generations, each of which consists of three subjects, and 88 each generation is asked to decide between maintaining intergenerational sustainability (sustain-89 able option) and maximizing its own generation's payoff by irreversibly imposing a cost on future 90 generations (unsustainable option) through deliberative discussion. As a new element of our ISDG 91 experimental design, we conduct individual interviews after subjects finish making their genera-92 tion's decision. In the interviews, we elicit each subject's "individual initial opinion" about which 93 option she supported before and "individual final opinion" after her generation's deliberation as a 94 personal opinion, respectively. This interview process enables us to clarify whether each subject 95

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>An important area of investigation in economics is how intragroup interactions affect intergroup economic outcomes to resolve some dilemmas and it has a long-term impact (Hauge et al., 2019, Brandon et al., 2019, Kotchen and Segerson, 2019, Tilman et al., 2019). The past literature has shown that social interactions influence group choices. Building upon these studies, our ISDG experiments are designed for the purpose of understanding and exploring how intragroup (intragenerational) face-to-face communication can be effective for intergroup (intergenerational) fairness as discussed in Engelmann and Strobel (2004).

changes her opinions over a course of deliberation. To generalize and better characterize the role of deliberation on ISD in real fields, we conduct our experiment along with a questionnaire survey for sociodemographic and psychological information in both rural and urban areas of Nepal.<sup>6</sup> With this approach, this paper seeks to answer the following open questions: (i) Does intragenerational deliberation change individual opinions of rural and urban subjects for an intergenerational problem such as ISD in a different manner? (ii) Do such changes in individual opinions induce generations to resolve ISD in each society?

## **103 2 Methods and materials**

#### 104 2.1 Study areas

We conduct the experiments in two kinds of Nepalese fields: (i) urban areas, such as Kath-105 mandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur and Pokhara city, and (ii) rural areas of several traditional villages 106 from Prabhat and Chitwan districts. Both areas are almost homogeneous in terms of culture, lan-107 guage and religion. The urban areas usually have the highest human development index (HDI) 108 on the basis of UNDP (2014), and the population density is high. For instance, Kathmandu has 109 a population density of 4416 people per  $\rm km^2$  (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011) and is the most 110 crowded city, with 24.3% of the total urban population in Nepal. Big cities such as Kathmandu 111 and Pokhara are the centers for businesses and services. The rural areas consist of different vil-112 lages of the Western Hills and Central Terai, such as the Prabhat and Chitwan districts (figure 1). 113 The population densities of Chitwan and Prabhat are 261 people per  $\text{km}^2$  and 297 people per  $\text{km}^2$ . 114 respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011). All of these villages are agrarian societies, and 115 the dwellers engage in farming generation after generation. A limited number of businesses and 116 services, typically small-scale ones, are available. 117

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Henrich et al. (2001) and Fehr and Leibbrandt (2011) demonstrate that observations of any economic decision in experiments tend to reflect naturally occurring situations or vice versa. In this sense, this experimental framework in rural and urban areas can be considered a useful building block to understand and clarify whether there are differences across people's opinions regarding ISD in various societies.

#### **119 2.2 Experimental setup**

We conduct an intergenerational sustainability dilemma game (ISDG), an individual interview, a social value orientation (SVO) game and questionnaire surveys to obtain critical thinking disposition and sociodemographic data in the field.

#### 123 Intergenerational sustainability dilemma game and deliberation

The ISDG is implemented following the laboratory and field experiments in Kamijo et al. 124 (2017) and Shahrier et al. (2017). Building upon these previous ISDG experiments, we add a 125 new element of individual interviews to the experimental design, the details of which shall be 126 discussed later. Three subjects in a group are called a generation, and each generation needs to 127 choose between options A and B. The generation receives a payoff of X by choosing option A 128 and the payoff X - 300 by choosing option B. After making a choice between options A and 129 B, the generation is asked to split the payoff associated with the option they choose among the 130 generation members. Each of the subject's payoffs in ISDG is the sum of their generation share 131 plus the initial experimental endowment of 300. For instance, by choosing A, the generation earns 132 1200 experimental points (X = 1200), whereas by choosing B, the generation earns 900 points 133 (= X - 300 = 1200 - 300). Consequently, if members of this generation split the payoff equally 134 among them, each member earns 400 by choosing A and 300 by choosing B as a generation share. 135 Therefore, the total payoff of each subject with generation choice A becomes 700 (= 400 + 300), 136 whereas it becomes 600 (= 300 + 300) with generation choice B. 137

Each generation is allowed to deliberate over the decision between options *A* and *B* as well as how to split the generation payoff up to 10 minutes of discussion. However, when the decisions cannot be made within 10 minutes, the following rules have been applied, (1) if the generation share the group receives is positive, each member receives an initial endowment of 300 only, (2) if the

generation share the group receives is negative, say, -Z, each member equally splits -Z by three 142 and receives the payment of -Z/3 plus an initial endowment of 300 (See a supplementary material 143 of experimental instructions for the details). After the generation decision between A and B, each 144 subject undergoes an individual interview in which she is asked to state her "individual initial 145 opinion" and "individual final opinion" regarding supporting A or B. This individual interview is 146 a new element compared to the preexisting ISDG experiments in Kamijo et al. (2017) and Shahrier 147 et al. (2017), clarifying how an individual opinion changes over a course of deliberation and the 148 role of deliberation for affecting individual opinions. 149

Each session consists of  $18 \sim 24$  subjects, organizing a sequence of  $6 \sim 8$  generations. Each 150 generation is randomly assigned to one of the 1st, 2nd, ... and 6th generations. When the num-151 ber of subjects that participated in a session are 21 or 24, we organize 7th and even 8th genera-152 tions. However, they are assigned as 1st and 2nd in another sequence of generations as indicated 153 in figure 3. One generation's decision affects the subsequent generations such that subsequent 154 generations' payoffs decreases uniformly by 300 when the current generation chooses option A, 155 otherwise not. For instance, suppose that X = 1200 and the 1st generation chooses A. Then, 156 the 2nd generation will face a game in which they can receive 900 and 600 by choosing A and 157 B, respectively. However, if the 1st generation chooses B, the next generation can have the same 158 decision environment as the 1st generation faced. That is, when the 1st generation chooses B, 159 the 2nd generation can have the game in which they can receive 1200 and 900 by choosing A and 160 B, respectively. Following the same rule, the game continues for the rest of the subsequent two 161 generations (i.e., between *i*th and i + 1th generations). Hence, option B can be considered a "sus-162 tainable option," whereas option A is the choice that compromises intergenerational sustainability 163 and can be considered as an "unsustainable option." In each session, the 1st generation starts ISDG 164 with X = 1200, implying that the 5th and 6th generations may face the game in which options 165 A and B are associated with payoffs of zero and -300, respectively, when previous generations 166 keep choosing option A.<sup>7</sup> In ISDG, the subjects are paid 550 NPR ( $\approx 5.50$  USD) at maximum and 167

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>When the 5th and 6th generations face the game in which options A and B are associated with zero or a negative payoff of -300, the generation members can refund themselves equally from their initial endowment of 300 to make

<sup>168</sup> 350 NPR ( $\approx 3.50$  USD) on average (The NPR stands for Nepalese rupees).

#### **169** Individual interviews

An individual interview is conducted for each subject after her generation decides between 170 options A and B in ISDG. In this interview, we investigate the patterns of the shift in individual 171 opinions to have supported A, B or to have been ambivalent (no ideas) coded as N as her "individ-172 ual initial opinion" and "individual final opinion" before and after the deliberation, respectively. 173 Each subject is asked to answer whether she supported A, B or N and the associated reasons "be-174 fore and after" a course of deliberation. The interviewers ask questions such as (1) "your personal 175 opinion might have been different from the group decision. At the moment of the group decision, 176 what did you really want to support as your personal opinion?" for her "individual final opinion" 177 and the corresponding reasons and (2) "Before the group deliberation started, what did you re-178 ally support as your personal opinion?" for her "individual initial opinion" and the corresponding 179 reasons. 180

The individual interviews successfully identify whether each subject changes her individual 181 opinion to have supported A, B and/or N through deliberation. For instance, some subject is 182 recognized to have supported A as her "individual initial opinion" before deliberation but to have 183 ended up supporting B as her "individual final opinion" after deliberation. In this case, her opinion 184 change is coded as AB, where the first letter represents her initial personal support for A before 185 deliberation and the second letter does her final personal support for B after deliberation. In the 186 same manner, we identify and code subjects' opinion changes through individual interviews, and 187 the possible combinations of opinion changes are AA, AB, AN, BA, BB, BN, NA, NB and NN. 188 With this information about individual opinion changes before and after deliberation, we can also 189 identify whether each generation has a unanimous opinion agreement to decide between options A190 and B before and after deliberation.<sup>8</sup> 191

the individual payoff be at least zero.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>An alternative way to collect the same data of individual opinions is to incentivize or to ask each subject to reveal their opinions to support A, B and N in a timely manner, i.e., each subject is asked to reveal an "individual initial opinion" before deliberation and again asked to reveal an "individual final opinion" after deliberation. However,

#### <sup>192</sup> Social value orientation (SVO) games

An SVO experiment of the "slider method" is conducted to identify subjects' social preferences 193 as prosocial or proself in urban and rural areas, following Murphy et al. (2011). Figure 2 shows 194 six items of the slider measure that assign numbers to represent outcomes for oneself and for 195 the other in a pair of persons, where the other is unknown to the subject. Subjects are asked to 196 make one choice among the nine options for each item. Each subject chooses her allocation by 197 marking a line at the point that defines her most preferred distribution between oneself and the 198 other (See figure 2). The mean allocation for oneself  $\overline{A}_s$  and the mean allocation for the other  $\overline{A}_o$ 199 are computed from all six items (See figure 2). Then, 50 is subtracted from  $\overline{A}_s$  and  $\overline{A}_o$  to shift the 200 base of the resulting angle to the center of the circle (50, 50). The index of a subject's SVO is given 201 by SVO =  $\arctan \frac{(\overline{A}_o) - 50}{(\overline{A}_o) - 50}$ . Depending on the values generated from the test, social preferences 202 are categorized as follows: 1. altruist: SVO >  $57.15^{\circ}$ , 2. prosocial:  $22.45^{\circ} < SVO < 57.15^{\circ}$ , 3. 203 individualist:  $-12.04^{\circ} < SVO < 22.45^{\circ}$  and 4. competitive:  $SVO < -12.04^{\circ}$ . 204

#### 205

#### [Figure 2 about here.]

The SVO framework assumes that people have different motivations and goals for evaluating resource allocations between oneself and others. Also, the SVOs or social preferences are established to be stable for a long time (See, e.g., Van Lange et al., 2007, Brosig-Koch et al., 2011). Responses that are yielded from six primary items give complete categories of social preferences. Major reasons for using six primary slider measures developed by Murphy et al. (2011) are its simplicity and it is easy to implement in the Nepalese context. It is intuitive for subjects to understand

this timely-manner procedure does not reflect the process of real-world deliberative group decisions, and it is also reported to induce subjects to have unnecessarily strong priming and anchoring effects on individual opinions that influence group deliberations and decisions (Kahneman, 2011, Kotani et al., 2014). Qualitative behavioral research establishes that individual opinions and ideas can be truthfully elicited by individual interviews after the incidences of interest (Brinkmann, 2014). In addition, in our pilot experiment with 48 subjects, we confirm that individual initial and final opinions elicited by our interview procedure are consistent with group deliberations and decisions. Subjects might show active misrepresentation of intentions in experiments when there is a strategic interaction to gain extra benefits (Crawford, 2003, Crawford and Harris, 2018). Following this line of research, we have used an interview method and this interview was conducted after the intragenerational deliberation where subjects have no intentions to lie. Specifically, we collect individual opinions through individual interviews "after" generations' decisions between options A and B are made. The main results in our research regarding individual opinions and generation decisions that will be presented later are consistent with one another.

even with a limited level of education. As is often done in psychology, we further simplify the four categories of social preferences into two categories of prosocial and proself types: "altruist" and "prosocial" types are categorized as "prosocial" subjects, whereas "individualistic" and "competitive" types are categorized as "proself" subjects (See Murphy et al., 2011). Subjects are informed that the units represented in this game are points and that more points mean he/she will earn more real money (See the SVO instruction in figure 2).

In this game, the subject receives 150 NPR (NPR = Nepalese rupees) after applying some 218 exchange rate to the points she obtains ( $\approx 1.5$  USD) at maximum and 100 NPR ( $\approx 1.0$  USD) 219 on average. Subjects are instructed not to talk or discuss and the decision for SVO is made in 220 private. To compute the payoff of the subjects from this game, we collect the answer sheets from 221 all subjects, then we randomly match one subject with another subject as a pair. The experimental 222 payoff in this SVO game is the summation of points from 6 selections by herself for oneself and 6 223 selection by the partner for the other. We also explain the methods of random matching and payoff 224 calculation with the exchange rate for the real money incentive to subjects. 225

#### 226 Critical thinking disposition

Critical thinking is defined as a cognitive process that consist of many different skills such as 227 analysis, evaluation, inference, and inquisitiveness that is used appropriately for making a logical 228 solution to a problem or a valid conclusion to an argument (Dwyer and Hogan, 2014). The logical 220 thinking subscale of the critical thinking disposition scale was adopted in the questionnaire sur-230 veys, following Nakagawa (2015). This subscale consists of 13 items, which could be translated 231 into English as follows: (1) "I am good at thinking about complex problems in an orderly fashion," 232 (2) "I am good at collecting my thoughts," (3) "I am confident in thinking about things precisely," 233 (4) "I am good at making persuasive arguments," (5) "I am confused when thinking about complex 234 problems" (reversed item), (6) "I am usually the one to make decisions because my peers believe I 235 can make fair judgments," (7) "I can concentrate on grappling with problems," (8) "I can continue 236 working on a difficult problem that is not straightforward," (9) "I can think about things coher-237

ently," (10) "One of my shortcomings is that I am easily distracted" (reversed item), (11) "When
I think about a solution, I am unable to think about other alternatives" (reversed item), (12) "I can
inquire into things carefully," and (13) "I am constructive in proposing alternatives." Items were
rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The summation of rates from 1 to 5 over 13
items is the scale of critical thinking disposition, and the theoretical range is 13-65.

#### **243 2.3 Experimental procedure**

The experiments involve hiring local supporting staffs and research assistants (the first author 244 is a chief administrator for the experiment). The experimental procedures are the same between 245 urban and rural areas except for recruitment of subjects. In rural areas, subjects are informed in 246 advance (a week ago) and asked to show up at the village schools and/or government agricul-247 tural community halls at a given date and time. To collect subjects, we are supported by local 248 government offices known as village development committees (VDCs) and randomly select the 249 households from the list of residents in rural areas (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Based on 250 the random selection, we send an invitation letter to the selected households and one member in 251 a household is invited to participate in our experiments. The participation rate is approximately 252  $95\,\%$  which becomes high due to proper incentives provided in this experiment. 253

In urban areas, we conduct occupation-based randomization by taking the desired number of 254 subjects from each occupation such as banking, government, health, education, business, trans-255 portation and entertainment (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011).<sup>9</sup> The experiment is conducted at 256 district health organization training halls in urban areas that are in the center of the cities consisting 257 of many rooms. We send an invitation letter to different offices requesting people to participate in 258 our experiment. One week prior to the experiment, the letters are dispatched to the selected orga-259 nizations. We conduct experiments on the weekend and, due to proper incentives, the participation 260 rate is high that is 80 %. On an average, we paid 550 NPR ( $\approx 5.00$  USD) to each subject including 261 a fixed participation fee of 100 NPR ( $\approx 1.0$  USD) in rural and urban areas. 262

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Occupation-based randomization is done to have a representative urban sample in our experiments.

#### [Figure 3 about here.]

Upon arriving at the locations, subjects are gathered in one hall and they are given experi-264 mental instructions in their native language (Nepali). Once everybody is present in a room, an 265 experimenter (the first author) also gives subjects a verbal explanation about experimental rules. 266 To maintain anonymity across generations, first, we confirm that subjects have fully understood 267 the rules, and second, they are asked to proceed toward a door one by one and pick up a chip out 268 of a bag that contains their generation ID and individual ID.<sup>10</sup> According to the IDs, each subject 269 goes to and sits in a specific room. In the end, we place the generations in separate rooms by 270 their generation IDs. In this way, each subject can not observe and identify which person belong 271 to a specific generation in a sequence (she knows only the members of her generation), however, 272 they can realize that they are assigned to one generation within a sequence. However, they are not 273 informed of which generation is the last within a sequence of generations. 274

The research assistants distribute questionnaires and explain the experimental procedures once 275 again to subjects and keep them engage. In ISDG, the 1st generation makes deliberation up to 276 10 minutes where it is recorded and their generation decision is confirmed. Once a generation 277 finishes making her decision after the deliberation, the members are asked to move to an individual 278 interview room, one person by one person. This process is necessary to assure anonymity and 279 privacy among subjects in a generations or across generations regarding how they answer in each 280 interview. After the 1st generation decision and individual interviews, we proceed to the 2nd 281 generation with the same procedures. A series of these routines are applied to the rest of the next 282 generations from 3rd to 6th ones. 283

284

them if they are other than the 1st generation.<sup>11</sup> Each subject in a generation is asked to confirm

The previous generations' decisions are passed to the subsequent generations and they can see

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Several quizzes are administered to check subject's understanding of the game. We proceed with the experiment after confirming that all subjects answer the quizzes correctly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Note that we use more than 6 rooms in a session depending on the days, locations and the number of subjects, and prepare a separate room for each generation to keep anonymity among generation in a sequence (figure 3). This experimental environment is important to avoid a situation where the subjects have any "observer effect." In this way, we sought to avoid the "observer effect." On the other hand, some literature has concluded that the "observer effect" is mostly insignificant in many allocation games such as bargaining, dictator and ultimatum ones under laboratory

which generation they belong to in a sequence and the payoffs associated with options A and B. 286 With this information, each generation deliberates and decides between intergenerational unsus-287 tainable option A and sustainable option B in an ascending order from the 1st generation to 6th 288 generation. After the generation decision, each subject gets interviewed to state her "individual 289 initial opinion" and "individual final opinion" to have supported A, B or N before and after delib-290 eration. After the ISDG game and individual interviews, the SVO game follows. Finally, we ask 291 subjects to finish questionnaire surveys for their sociodemographic and psychological information 292 at the end of a session. 293

In ISD situations, there is no possibility of Pareto improvement across generations, all pos-294 sible decisions are Pareto efficient, and rational agents & generations in standard economic the-295 ory are predicted to support and choose option A. In behavioral economics, Charness and Rabin 296 (2002) and Engelmann and Strobel (2004) suggest some models of social preferences, social-297 efficiency and maximin preferences. Considering ISD as a simple distribution experiment among 298 non-overlapping generations, these models suggest that a generation is likely to choose option 299 B, when more members possess preferences for prosociality, social-efficiency, maximin and/or a 300 combination of these preferences. All of these predictions are qualitatively valid when we reason-301 ably assume that deliberation induces a generation to decide between options A and B, reflecting 302 the preferences of the majority in a generation. 303

Our hypothesis in this experiment is that intragenerational deliberation induces individual opin-304 ions and collective decisions to support intergenerational sustainability in ISD (Brandon et al., 305 2019, Hauge et al., 2019). Theory of deliberative process establishes that deliberation can bring a 306 change in individual opinions and resolve important problems in collective decision environments 307 (see, e.g., Simon and Sulkin, 2002, Goeree and Yariv, 2011, Ban et al., 2012, List et al., 2013). 308 Given this state of affairs, this research is considered to provide an experimental and analytical 309 framework to explore how intragenerational deliberation induces a change in individual opinions, 310 leading generations to resolve ISD. However, the patterns of such changes in individual opinions 311 settings (Bolton and Zwick, 1995, Laury et al., 1995, Roth, 1995).

may depend on the types of societies due to a difference of human nature, economic environment and characteristics between rural and urban areas, leading to a distinct outcome of generation decisions in ISDG (Cason and Mui, 1998, Engel, 2011, Fehr and Leibbrandt, 2011, Crawford and Harris, 2018). Specifically, this paper seeks to explore the following open questions: (i) Does intragenerational deliberation change individual opinions of rural and urban subjects for an intergenerational problem such as ISD in a different manner? (ii) Do such changes in individual opinions induce generations to resolve ISD in each society?

## 319 **3 Results**

Summary statistics about subjects' sociodemographic and psychological variables collected 320 through questionnaire surveys are presented in table 1. In rural areas, 44% of the subjects are 321 male, while, in urban areas, 66 % of them are male. This fact reflects that a considerable portion of 322 household heads are working away from home in rural areas (Massey et al., 2010). With respect to 323 education, subjects in rural areas only possess 10 years of schooling on an average, whereas more 324 than 50% of the subjects in urban areas have an undergraduate degree with 16 years of schooling. 325 With respect to employment, 88% of the rural subjects engage in farming and forestry as their 326 main activities, whereas only 37% of urban subjects do so. The household income is lower in 327 rural areas than in urban areas, and the percentages of a single family structure in rural and urban 328 areas are, respectively, 47% and 62%. The average family size does not differ between urban 329 and rural areas. The critical thinking disposition is slightly lower in rural areas than in urban 330 areas. With respect to social value orientation, 62% and 47% of subjects are prosocial in rural 331 and urban areas, respectively. Overall, the summary statistics regarding the sociodemographic and 332 psychological variables presented in table 1 suggest that there are some differences between these 333 two areas. 334

[Table 1 about here.]

#### [Table 2 about here.]

Generation choices for the intergenerational unsustainable option A and sustainable option B337 in ISDG are presented in table 2. It indicates that from a total of 121 generations (62 and 59 338 generations are in rural and urban areas, respectively), 90 (74.38%) generations choose sustain-339 able option B and 31 (25.62 %) generations choose unsustainable option A. Furthermore, in rural 340 areas, from 62 generations, 52 (83.87 %) generations choose option B and 10 (16.13 %) gener-34 ations choose option A. In urban areas, from 59 generations, 38 (64.41%) generations choose 342 option B and 21 (35.59 %) generations choose option A. We perform a chi-squared test with the 343 null hypothesis that the distributions over generation choices between options A and B across the 344 two areas are the same. The result rejects the null hypothesis at a statistical significance of 5%345  $(\chi^2 = 6.01, p = 0.014)$ . In summary, generations in urban areas more often choose the intergener-346 ational unsustainable option A than generations in rural areas. 347

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#### [Table 3 about here.]

The frequency and percentage of generation choices between options A and B with respect to 349 the number of prosocial members in each generation are presented in table 3. In both rural and 350 urban areas, the choices of sustainable option B increase with the number of prosocial members 351 in a generation. Another interesting fact is that a majority of generations choose B in rural areas 352 when at least one subject in a generation is prosocial. In contrast, in urban areas, a majority of 353 generations do not necessarily choose B even when one subject in a generation is prosocial. These 354 facts illustrate that in addition to prosociality in a generation, there may be other factors, such 355 as an area effect, that affect generation choices between unsustainable option A and sustainable 356 option B. For this purpose, we perform a logistic regression to characterize a generation choice 357 with respect to prosociality, areas and other independent variables. Table 5 presents the marginal 358 effects of an independent variable on the probability for a generation to choose option B, taking 359 the generation choice of option A as the base group for the dependent variable in the logistic 360 regression. In model 1, we include an area dummy and the number of prosocial members in each 36

generation as independent variables. To check the robustness of the result in model 1, we add other sociodemographic and psychological variables such as gender, education, monthly income, single family type, critical thinking disposition, agricultural involvement, the previous generations' decision and the percentage of choosing option B in sequence history at a generational level in model 2 (see table 4 for the definitions).

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#### [Table 4 about here.]

Model 1 in table 5 shows that the area dummy and a number of prosocial subjects in a gen-368 eration are economically and statistically significant, demonstrating that generations in rural areas 369 have a 14.2% greater probability of choosing sustainable option B compared with generations in 370 urban areas. Furthermore, an increase in a number of prosocial members per generation leads to a 37 21.5% increase in the probability of choosing B. These two findings are statistically significant at 372 the 5 % and 1 % levels, respectively. In model 2 of table 5, gender, education, monthly income, sin-373 gle family type, critical thinking disposition, agricultural involvement, the previous generations' 374 decision and the percentage of choosing option B in sequence history as explanatory variables 375 have no effect on generation choices.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the analysis suggests that the number of prosocial 376 members per generation and the area dummy are consistently significant and robust, irrespective 377 of the regression specifications and they are important determinants for generation decisions. 378

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#### [Table 5 about here.]

Table 6 presents the frequency and percentage of "individual initial opinion" to have supported A, B or to have been ambivalent (or no ideas) as N before deliberation and the "individual final opinion" after deliberation. When there are no individual opinion changes from initial to final

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>To check the robustness for the main result in table 5, we run additional models of logit regression. We consider (i) the previous generations' choices within a sequence history and (ii) some sociodemographic variables at the generational level as independent variables, building upon the base model 1. Table 5 presents the marginal effects of the independent variables, confirming that the percentage of choosing option *B* by previous generations within a sequence history as well as the sociodemographic variables are not significant in model 2. We have also tried some interaction terms between area dummy and the percentage of choosing option *B* in history (sociodemographic variables), however, none of them are significant. We have consistently found the same tendency that the number of prosocial members and the area dummy remain significant 1% and 10% level.

opinions, such situations are coded as AA, BB or NN, where the first (second) letter represents the 383 individual opinions before (after) deliberation. The other combinations of the two letters represent 384 a situation in which a subject changes her individual opinions over a course of deliberation. For 385 instance, AB describes a situation in which the subject initially had her initial opinion to support 386 A before deliberation, but changed her final opinion to support B after deliberation. Subjects who 387 do not change their opinions to support sustainable option B (i.e., subjects with BB) account 388 for 78.49% and 55.93% in rural and urban areas, respectively (See table 6). Subjects who do not 389 change their opinions to support unsustainable option A (i.e., subjects with AA) account for 9.14%390 and 16.95% in rural and urban areas, respectively. This result implies that a majority of subjects 391 in rural areas have a consistent opinion of BB, whereas approximately half of subjects in urban 392 areas exhibit variation in their opinions other than BB through deliberation.<sup>13</sup> 393

Table 6 also shows that individual opinion changes occur much more often in urban areas than 394 in rural areas. These results are in line with the fact that more prosocial subjects are found in rural 395 areas than in urban areas (see table 1). In fact, we identify that a majority of rural subjects are 396 prosocial, expressing their opinions to support BB in their interviews. To identify the variation 397 in initial and final opinions, we apply the coefficient of "unalikeability" as a concept of variability 398 for an unordered categorical variable (Gordon, 1986, Kader and Perry, 2007, Frankfort-Nachmias 399 and Leon-Guerrero, 2017).<sup>14</sup> We have identified that the coefficients of "unalikeability" in initial 400 (final) opinions are 0.24 (0.32) and 0.46 (0.52) for rural and urban areas, respectively, confirming 40<sup>-</sup> that urban subjects have a wider variety of initial and final opinions than rural subjects. 402

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#### [Table 6 about here.]

The previous literature has suggested that deliberation leads to collective decisions with unanimity (Gerardi and Yariv, 2007, Neilson and Winter, 2008, Gillet et al., 2009, Ruth and Danziger,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Subjects changing their opinions from A(N) to B, as AB(NB). 1.08 % (2.15 %) and 6.78 % (1.13 %) of subjects are classified as AB(NB) in rural and urban areas, respectively. These percentages are not necessarily high compared with those of other opinion shifts, such as BA or BN. For instance, 2.15 % (5.38 %) and 6.21 % (5.08 %) of subjects are classified as BA(BN) in rural and urban areas, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>The coefficient of "unalikeability" measures how often observations differ from one another within a same treatment group, and it is measured on a scale from 0 to 1 and higher the value is, the more unalike or variable the data are.

2016). With the data regarding individual opinion changes, we examine whether the aforemen-406 tioned claim is true in ISDG. To this end, we introduce some terminologies to classify various cases 407 of unanimity that can arise in ISDG. When all members in a generation have the same "individual 408 initial opinion" of A, B or N before the deliberation, we call such a generation as a generation 409 with "unanimity before deliberation;" otherwise, it is called a generation with "nonunanimity be-410 fore deliberation." Similarly, when all the members in a generation have the same "individual final 411 opinion" of A, B or N, it is called a generation with "unanimity after deliberation;" otherwise, it 412 is called a generation with "nonunanimity after deliberation." With these definitions, all the gen-413 erations fall into one of the following unanimity categories: 1. Unanimity and 2. Nonunanimity 414 before and after deliberation. 415

Table 7 presents that, out of a total of 121 generations, 91 generations (39 and 52 in urban and 416 rural areas) have unanimity before deliberation but only 75 generations (32 and 43 in urban and 417 rural areas) are identified to have unanimity after deliberation. Thus, the number of generations 418 that reached unanimity decline from 91 to 75 through deliberation. Furthermore, to statistically 419 establish our result, we run a chi-squared test with the null hypothesis that the distributions of 420 generations that reach unanimity before and after deliberations are the same. The result rejects 421 the null hypothesis at 5 % significance level ( $\chi^2 = 4.73, p = 0.029$ ), implying that deliberation 422 in ISDG does not necessarily induce generations to reach unanimity. The previous literature has 423 suggested that "deliberation leads to collective decisions with unanimity" (Gerardi and Yariv, 2007, 424 Neilson and Winter, 2008, Gillet et al., 2009, Ruth and Danziger, 2016). However, in ISDG, such 425 a claim is unlikely to be true. 426

427

#### [Table 7 about here.]

Next, we statistically analyze the factors that cause individual opinion changes through deliberation. For identifying such factors, we run logit regression taking an individual opinion change through deliberation as a dependent variable. The dependent variable is a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 when a subject changes her opinion to support *A*, *B* or *N* before and after deliberation, such as AB, AN, BA, BN, NA and NB. The independent variables include the area dummy, critical thinking disposition, preunanimity, minority dummy, social value orientation and sociodemographic factors such as gender, age, education, monthly income, family size and agricultural involvement. The definitions of all the variables are summarized as "variables at individual level" in table 4. Table 8 presents the marginal effects of an independent variable on the probability for a subject to have an opinion change in models 1 and 2. In model 1, we do not control for sociodemographic variables, while we include sociodemographic variables in model 2 for a robustness check.

The area dummy, critical thinking disposition and preunanimity dummy have a negative ef-440 fect on an individual opinion change, while the minority dummy has a positive effect on opinion 441 changes through the deliberation in both models 1 and 2. On the other hand, the sociodemographic 442 variables in model 2 do not exhibit any effect.<sup>15</sup> The area dummy is statistically significant in that 443 rural subjects are 10.1% less likely to change their opinions through the deliberation, compared to 444 urban subjects. This rural-area effect is considered strong because a high portion of rural subjects 445 (78.49%) consistently chose sustainable option B (See table 6). In summary, it appears that there 446 are less variation in individual opinions and less chances in opinion changes among rural people, 447 because they usually have homogeneous culture and ways of thinking that come from similar so-448 cial learning and experiences from generation to generation through social interactions (Hooper 449 et al., 2015, Schniter et al., 2015). 450

451

#### [Table 8 about here.]

The results in model 1 show that a critical thinking and unanimity before deliberation are negatively associated for a member of a generation to change his/her opinions through deliberation.<sup>16</sup> However, the magnitude of the effect of critical thinking on opinion changes could be considered rather small. Subjects with higher critical thinking abilities should be able to judge and understand the quality of arguments with a logical validity in deliberation. Therefore, they are less likely to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>We have also tried different specifications of regressions in addition to models 1 and 2, but the qualitatively identical results have been obtained.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>One-unit-scale increase in critical thinking disposition leads to a decrease of 1% in the probability for a member of a generation to change his/her opinions through deliberation at 1% significance level.

change their opinion, being qualitatively consistent with previous researches (Nakagawa, 2015, 457 Howarth et al., 2016). Furthermore, when generations have unanimity before deliberation (or pre-458 unanimity in the regression), the probability for their members to change their opinions decreases 459 by 10.1% at 5% significance level, compared with generations without the unanimity. Overall, 460 whether or not members in a generation have the same opinion, i.e., "unanimity before deliber-461 ation," is identified to be a key factor for determining whether subjects in the generation change 462 their opinions. Finally, the results also demonstrate that a subject with a minority of her initial 463 opinion in a generation is 16.2% more likely to change her opinion, compared with non-minority 464 subjects, at 1 % significance level. In summary, we have identified that area dummy, critical think-465 ing disposition, preunanimity dummy and minority dummy are identified to be the major factors 466 related to individual opinion changes. 467

The experimental results demonstrate that rural subjects choose sustainable option B more 468 often than do urban subjects and the number of prosocial members per generation is a key factor. 469 Next, urban subjects are identified to have a wider variety of individual initial opinions than rural 470 subjects, and the individual opinions change through deliberation when subjects in a generation do 471 not share the same initial opinion, reflecting that urban subjects change opinions as compared with 472 rural ones. Consequently, urban (subjects) generations (support) choose an unsustainable option 473 more often than do rural ones. Overall, tables 6 to 8 illustrate that intragenerational deliberation is 474 not successful at inducing individuals and generations to support and choose sustainable opinion 475 B, respectively. Now, with these results, we can answer the two open questions posed at the end 476 of introduction section and section 2.3: (i) Does intragenerational deliberation change individual 477 opinions of rural and urban subjects for an intergenerational problem such as ISD in a different 478 manner? Our answer to the question is that urban subjects change their opinions more often than 479 do rural subjects through intragenerational deliberation, and (ii) Do such changes in individual 480 opinions induce generations to resolve ISD in each society? Our answer to the question is that the 481 individual opinion changes that mainly occur in urban areas do not work in the direction to enhance 482 intergenerational sustainability. In summary, our results suggest that intragenerational deliberation 483

<sup>484</sup> is not effective at resolving intergenerational sustainability.

### **485 4 Discussion and conclusion**

This research has examined how intragenerational deliberation changes individual opinions 486 and can be a resolution for intergenerational sustainability dilemma (ISD) in societies by conduct-487 ing the framed field experiment in two Nepalese contexts (urban and rural areas). Our results 488 demonstrate that the majority of the generations in both societies support a sustainable option B489 and the findings are different from Shahrier et al. (2017) where the majority have chosen option A 490 in an urban city, Dhaka. The possible explanation is that life in Dhaka is much more competitive 491 to live than in Kathmandu and a majority of urban Bangladeshi people are found to be proself, 492 reflecting the fact that Dhaka is the world's most densely populated city (Shahrier et al., 2016, 493 Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Cason and Mui (1997) claim that intragroup face-to-face 494 communication does not always lead groups to make rational and self-regarding decisions, fol-495 lowing standard economic theory. However, some studies have found that group behaviors can be 496 more self-regarding and rational than individual behaviors in the same settings (Dawes et al., 1977, 497 Isaac and Walker, 1988, Bornstein and Ben-Yossef, 1994, Kugler et al., 2012, Charness and Sut-498 ter, 2012, Cooper and Kuhn, 2016, Meub and Proeger, 2017, Crawford and Harris, 2018, Carbone 499 et al., 2019, Vollstadt and Bohm, 2019). This study shows that how intragenerational delibera-500 tion affects intergeneration behaviors shall be depending on socioeconomic contexts, cultures and 501 norms in people's daily life (Henrich et al., 2005, 2010b, Fehr and Leibbrandt, 2011). 502

<sup>503</sup> Urban subjects have a wider variety of individual initial opinions and support unsustainable <sup>504</sup> options more often than do rural subjects. This result can be compared with the findings of Cason <sup>505</sup> and Mui (1998), Luhan et al. (2009) and Crawford and Harris (2018) showing that social inter-<sup>506</sup> action influences group decisions in the way that self-regarding individuals are influential. Our <sup>507</sup> findings show that individual opinions change through deliberation when subjects in a genera-<sup>508</sup> tion do not share the same initial opinion, reflecting that more urban subjects change opinions.

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However, we identify that such changes do not necessarily work in the direction to enhance in-509 tergenerational sustainability, because some people in the group might have strong self-regarding 510 preferences influencing generation decisions. Fischbacher et al. (2001), Chaudhuri (2011) and 51 Hauser et al. (2014) show that cooperation among group members increases when they are aware 512 of the presence of conditional cooperators. Given these findings, one way to interpret our result is 513 that urban generations are likely to identify at least one self-regarding member, but less likely to 514 spot (conditional) cooperators through intragenerational deliberation, choosing an unsustainable 515 option. 516

A novelty of our experimental design as compared with Kamijo et al. (2017) and Shahrier et al. 517 (2017) is conducting interviews to identify individual opinion changes over the course of delib-518 eration. The interviews reveal that there is a fundamental difference in terms of how deliberation 519 affects individual opinions between rural and urban areas in ISDG. In rural areas, approximately 520 80% of subjects consistently support sustainable option B without any opinion change during de-521 liberation, whereas about half of the urban subjects change their opinions. Gachter and Thoni 522 (2005) find that cooperation among like mindset people in a group tends to be higher and more 523 stable than that among different mindset people in a group. Being consistent with the result in 524 Gachter and Thoni (2005), we find that urban generations consist of people with a wider variety of 525 individual initial opinions, changing their individual opinions and choosing an unsustainable op-526 tion more often than rural ones. It can be interpreted that urban subjects with a variety of opinions 527 face conflicts of interest during intragenerational deliberation and, thus, the deliberation takes long 528 as compared to rural subjects. As a result, deliberation does not successfully induce urban subjects 529 and generations to support sustainable option B. 530

This study demonstrates that people's social preferences such as prosociality are key factors to characterize intergenerational sustainability. Prosocial preferences directly affect people's decisions about how to live, such as unplugging cell phones, using public transport to commute work and/or installing a solar panel on a roof for energy (Van Lange et al., 2007). The higher proportion of prosocial people are found in rural areas than in urban ones, and there are significant differences

between these areas in terms of their environment, uses of technologies and social interactions 536 among people. In many cases, basic city life in urban areas such as Kathmandu and Pokhara does 537 not require people to have human interactions or intimacy even with their colleagues. In contrast, 538 people in rural areas have close interactions and intimacy with their neighbors owing to their direct 539 dependency on ecology and agriculture-based activities, and a closely-knit rural society such as ru-540 ral areas in Nepal can be considered a hope for resolving ISD. With these realities, we believe that 541 the difference in how people interact with others affects social preferences and behaviors (Char-542 ness and Rabin, 2002, Engelmann and Strobel, 2004, Shahrier et al., 2017). Therefore, practices of 543 shared values through education and social interactions shall be one possible approach to enhance 544 intergeneration sustainability through creating a close-knit society such as permaculture movement 545 in some parts of the world (Akhtar et al., 2016, Maye, 2016, Ulbrich and Pahl-Wostl, 2019). 546

Literature has suggested that deliberation leads to fair collective decisions in some class of 547 intragenerational problems, particularly when they have an chance to reach Pareto improvement 548 (Cardenas, 2000, Cardenas et al., 2000, Blume and Ortmann, 2007, Gerardi and Yariv, 2007, Neil-549 son and Winter, 2008, Gillet et al., 2009, Cason et al., 2012, Ghate et al., 2013, Ruth and Danziger, 550 2016). In this research, it is demonstrated that intragenerational deliberation is not effective at 551 assuring intergenerational sustainability in ISDG where there is no room for Pareto improvement. 552 Fochmann et al. (2018) observe that subjects are more concerned about fairness in intragenera-553 tional distributional problems than in intergenerational ones. With the result, it is so intuitive that 554 intragenerational deliberation cannot resolve intergenerational problems such as ISD. In reality, 555 people in contemporary societies have failed in resolving some important intergenerational prob-556 lems, such as climate change, through intragenerational deliberation over time. Therefore, our 557 results imply that some new social mechanisms in addition to or other than intragenerational delib-558 eration must be designed and instituted if we really want to resolve intergenerational sustainability 559 problems. 560

<sup>561</sup> We note some limitations of the study and directions for future research. First, our experiment <sup>562</sup> is instituted under nonoverlapping generations to focus only on the ISD problems. In reality, how-

ever, generations are overlapping in societies. Future research should be able to be reorganized for 563 addressing ISD with overlapping generations. Second, although we find that deliberation does not 564 resolve ISD, future research may be able to find a new type of social mechanisms, potentially with 565 deliberative processes, for resolving ISD. Finally, this research does not fully utilize the contents of 566 generations' discussions for analyzing why individual opinion changes occur in deliberation along 567 with generation decisions. Future research should be able to characterize the detailed dynamic pro-568 cesses for individual opinion changes and generation decisions via qualitative deliberative analysis 569 of discussion contents, as is done in psychology and political science (Brinkmann, 2014). 570

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Figure 1: Study regions: Urban and rural areas of Nepal

Figure 2: Instructions for the "slider method" to measuring social value orientation

		Instructions	
In this task	lomly paired with another person, whom we will refer to as the <b>other</b> . This other person is some	one you	
decisions at distribution	bout allocating reso you prefer most by	urces between you and this other person. For each of the following questions, please indicate th marking the respective position along the midline. You can only make one mark for each q	ne uestion.
Your decisions so that he/s	ons will yield money he receives 50 dolla	for both yourself and the other person. In the example below, a person has chosen to distribute ars, while the anonymous other person receives 40 dollars.	money
There are no distribution as well as the	o right or wrong and n of money on the ne amount of mone	swers, this is all about personal preferences. After you have made your decision, write the ress spaces on the right. As you can see, your choices will influence both the amount of money you y the other receives.	ulting u receive
		Example:	
You	receive 30	35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70	50
	<u> </u>	<u>You</u>	50
Other	receives 80	70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 <sub>Other</sub>	40
a			
1	You receive		You
· ·	Other receives		Other
	You receive	85 87 89 91 93 94 96 98 100	You
2	Other reasives		Other
	Other receives	15 19 24 28 33 37 41 40 50	_
-	You receive		You
3			Othor
	Other receives	100 98 96 94 93 91 89 87 85	Other
	You receive	50 54 59 63 68 72 76 81 85	You
4			
	Other receives	100 89 79 68 58 47 36 26 15	Other
	You receive		Vou
5	100 1000100		100
	Other receives	50 56 63 69 75 81 88 94 100	Other
L			
	You receive		You
	Other receives		Other
	0.1101 10001403		

Figure 3: A flow chart of procedure for the ISDG experiment and questionnaire survey per session. In the ISDG experiment, each room has two-digit ID with one letter of alphabets and a number, such as G1 or K1. The alphabet letter represents a sequence ID, while the number does the generation ID within the sequence



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Valiables         Mean         SD           Age <sup>2</sup> $33.77$ $11.3$ Gender <sup>3</sup> $0.66$ $0.47$ Education <sup>4</sup> $15.20$ $3.45$ Agricultural involvement <sup>5</sup> $0.37$ $0.50$ Monthly income (in NPR 10,000) <sup>6</sup> $5.10$ $8.0\xi$ Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62$ $0.48$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03$ $0.94$			<b>0</b>	(0))	NULA	1 (UZ 201	ICI dulvilo, -	roo suoj	
Age <sup>2</sup> $33.77$ $11.3$ Gender <sup>3</sup> $0.66$ $0.47$ Gender <sup>3</sup> $0.66$ $0.47$ Education <sup>4</sup> $15.20$ $3.45$ Agricultural involvement <sup>5</sup> $0.37$ $0.50$ Monthly income (in NPR 10,000) <sup>6</sup> $5.10$ $8.05$ Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62$ $0.46$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03$ $0.94$		Median	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Gender <sup>3</sup> $0.66$ $0.47$ Education <sup>4</sup> $15.20$ $3.42$ Agricultural involvement <sup>5</sup> $0.37$ $0.50$ Monthly income (in NPR 10,000) <sup>6</sup> $5.10$ $8.05$ Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62$ $0.47$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03$ $0.94$	1.38	32.50	18.00	56.00	33.27	11.54	30.5	16.00	66.00
Education <sup>4</sup> $15.20$ $3.42$ Agricultural involvement <sup>5</sup> $0.37$ $0.50$ Monthly income (in NPR 10,000) <sup>6</sup> $5.10$ $8.05$ Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62$ $0.48$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03$ $0.94$	.47	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00
Agricultural involvement5 $0.37$ $0.50$ Monthly income (in NPR 10,000)6 $5.10$ $8.05$ Single family7 $0.62$ $0.48$ Family size8 $3.03$ $0.94$	3.42	16.00	5.00	18.00	10.18	2.86	10.00	1.00	18.00
Monthly income (in NPR 10,000) <sup>6</sup> $5.10$ $8.05$ Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62$ $0.48$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03$ $0.94$	.50	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.88	0.33	1.00	0.00	1.00
Single family <sup>7</sup> $0.62  ext{ } 0.48$ Family size <sup>8</sup> $3.03  ext{ } 0.94$	3.05	3.40	1.00	90.00	0.31	4.05	1.50	0.50	30.00
Family size <sup>8</sup> 3.03 0.94	.48	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.51	0.00	0.00	1.00
	.94	3.00	1.00	5.00	3.15	1.13	3.00	1.00	5.00
Cognitive & psychological variables									
Critical thinking disposition <sup>9</sup> 48.14 7.15	.12	49.00	23.00	65.00	47.62	6.45	48.00	25.00	65.00
SVO <sup>10</sup> 0.47 0.50	.50	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.62	0.48	1.00	0.00	1.00
<ol> <li>"SD" stands for standard deviation.</li> <li>Age is a continuous variable given in years.</li> <li>A dummy variable that takes the value 1 when the subject is male and 0 oth 4 Education represents years of schooling.</li> <li>Sagricultural involvement is a dummy variable that takes the value 1 when a 6 Monthly income is given in Nepalese rupees (NPR).</li> <li>S S</li></ol>	) otherwise nen a subjec	ct is stably em a single family	ployed or e	ngaged in the and 0 otherwis	agricultural se se.	ctor and 0 o	therwise.		

Table 1: Summary statistics

<sup>9</sup> Critical thinking disposition is the summation of rates from 1 to 5 over 13 items, and the theoretical range is 13-65. In each item, a question is posed, and a subject is asked to choose among 1 "strongly disagree," 3 "neutral," 4 "agree" and 5 "strongly agree." 10 "SVO" is a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 when a subject is prosocial and 0 otherwise.

Ganarotion choices hatwaan ontions $A$ and $B$	Ar	.ea	Tote1
	Urban	Rural	IUIAI
P	21 (35.59 %)	$10\ (16.13\ \%)$	31 (25.62 %)
В	$38 \ (64.41 \ \%)$	52 (83.87 %)	90~(74.38~%)
Total	59~(100.00~%)	62~(100.00~%)	$121\ (100.00\ \%)$

Table 2: The frequency and percentage of generation choices between options A and B (percentage in parenthesis)

Table 3: The frequency and percentage of generation choices between options A and B with respect to the number of prosocial members in each generation

# of prosocial members	Ur	ban	Ru	ıral
per generation	A	В	A	В
0	5 (8.48%)	3 (5.10%)	7~(11.29~%)	0 (0.00%)
1	10~(16.95%)	10~(16.95%)	3(4.84%)	10~(16.13%)
2	6~(10.17~%)	23~(40.00~%)	0~(0.00~%)	25~(40.32~%)
3	0 (0.00%)	2(3.39%)	0 (0.00%)	17~(27.42~%)
Subtotal	21 (35.59%)	38 (64.41 %)	10 (16.13%)	52 (83.87%)
Total	59 (1	00 %)	62 (1	00 %)

Tat	ole 4: Definitions of the variables included in the regressions
Variables	Definitions of variables included in regressions
Variables at generation level Generation choices between options $A$ and $B$	A dummy variable that takes 1 if the generation choose option $B$ , otherwise 0.
# of prosocial members in a generation	A number of prosocial members in each generation.
Area dummy Gender	A dummy variable that takes 1 if the generation is from the rural area, otherwise 0. A variable that represents the number of males in each generation
Education	A variable that represents average years of schooling over three subjects in each generation.
Monthly income	A variable that represents an average household income of three subjects in each generation.
Single family A oricultural involvement	A variable that represents a number of members in a generation that have a single family structure. A variable that represents a number of members in a generation who engage in agriculture
Previous generation decision	A dummy variable that takes 1 if the previous generation chooses option $B$ , otherwise 0.
Percentage of choosing option $B$	A variable that represents the percentage of previous generations that chose option $B$ in a sequence.
in sequence history	
Variables at individual level	
Individual opinion change	A dummy variable that takes 1 when a subject changes her individual opinion to
Critical thinking disposition	support $A$ , $D$ or $IV$ before and after demoeration of over a course of demoeration. A variable that represents the summation of rates from 1 to 5 over 13 items of questions.
	each subject answers in her questionnaire and the theoretical range is 13-65
Preunanimity	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject belongs to the generation in which all members supported the same option before deliberation otherwise 0
Minority	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject have a different
	opinion from other two members in a generation, otherwise 0.
SVO	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject is identified as prosocial, otherwise 0.
Gender	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject is male, otherwise 0.
Agricultural involvement	A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject engages in agriculture sector otherwise 0.
Education	A variable that represents the subject's years of schooling.
Single family	A dummy variable that takes 1 if the subject has a single family, otherwise 0.
Monthly income	A variable that represents monthly household income.

able 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in the logit regression for generation choices betwee ependent variable of generation choices takes the value 1 with option $B$ , otherwise 0.	in options $A$ and $B$ where the	
able 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in the logit regression for generation cho- ependent variable of generation choices takes the value 1 with option $B$ , otherwise 0.	ices betwee	
able 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in the logit regression for generependent variable of generation choices takes the value 1 with option $B$ , otherwise	ration choi	0.
Table 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in the logit regression ependent variable of generation choices takes the value 1 with option $B$ ,	n for gene	otherwise
able 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in the logit ependent variable of generation choices takes the value 1 with	regression	option $B$ ,
able 5: Marginal effects of independent variables in ependent variable of generation choices takes the va	n the logit	lue 1 with
able 5: Marginal effects of independent ependent variable of generation choices ta	variables i	lkes the va
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lable 5: Ma ependent va	rginal effe	ariable of §
	able 5: Ma	spendent va

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
Area dummy (Urban areas $= 0$ )	0.142**	0.192*
# of prosocial members in a generation	$\begin{array}{c} (0.003) \\ 0.215*** \\ (0.033) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} (0.110) \\ 0.211^{***} \\ (0.034) \end{array}$
Gender		-0.010
Education		(0.040) (0.016) (0.016)
Monthly income		000.0 - 0000
Single family		(0.014)
Critical thinking disposition		(0.040) (-0.006)
Agricultural involvement		(010.0)
Previous generation's decision		(0.042) -0.010 (0.004)
Percentage of choosing option $B$ in sequence history		(0.090) (0.090) (0.090)
Sample size	121	102
***significant at 1 % level, **significant at 5 % level	and *significant at	10 % level.

The Wald  $\chi^2$  statistics are 41.47 and 34.44 in models 1 and 2, respectively.

Individual opinion change	Are	eas
mulviduai opinion change	Urban	Rural
AA	30 (16.95%)	17 (9.14%)
AB	12~(6.78~%)	2(1.08%)
AN	9~(5.08~%)	2(1.08%)
BB	99(55.93%)	146~(78.49~%)
BA	11~(6.21~%)	4(2.15%)
BN	9~(5.08~%)	10~(5.38~%)
NN	2(1.13%)	0~(0.00~%)
NA	3(1.69%)	1~(0.54~%)
NB	2(1.13%)	4 (2.15%)
Total	177 (100.00%)	186 (100.00 %)

Table 6: The frequency and percentage of change in individual opinions for supporting option "A," "B," or "N" ambivalent/no ideas before and after the deliberation (percentage in parenthesis)

Table 7: The number of generations with unanimity before and after the deliberation

Deliberation	Unanimity	Non-unanimity	Total
Before	91	30	121
After	75	46	121
39 generati before delil	on out of 59 g veration in ur	eneration have un ban, whereas 52 o	animity ut of 62

generation in rural areas.

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Tabl

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
Area dummy (Urban areas $= 0$ )	$-0.101^{**}$	-0.108*
	(0.040)	(0.060)
Critical thinking disposition	$-0.010^{***}$	$-0.010^{***}$
	(0.003)	(0.003)
rreunammuy		(010)
Minority	(0.040) 0 169***	(0.049) 0 141**
	(0.060)	(0.065)
Including other socio-demographic variables in model 2		
SVO dummy (Proself = $0$ )		-0.020
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		(-0.042)
Gender (Base group = female)		0.063
Age		-0.001
Ő		(-0.002)
Education (Years of schooling)		-0.010
Monthly income		(0.007)
		0.000)
Family size		-0.014
		(0.021)
Agricultural involvement		(0.015)
		(160.0)
Sample size	363	331
***significant at 1 % level; **significant at 5 % level; *s. The Wald $\chi^2$ statistics are 43.06 and 42.28 in models 1 a	ignificant at $10 \%$ lends of the seventiation of the seventiatio	vel. nd they are signifi-
cant at 1 % level.		